

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 12322 01 OF 02 081003Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----040975 081004Z /11/42

O 071315Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8812
INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 12322

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, MARR, EG, US, SO
SUBJECT: EGYPTIAN USE OF C-130'S TO TRANSFER EQUIPMENT
- TO SOMALIA AND IN LARNACA

REF: (A) STATE 116107, (B)STATE 116016, (C)STATE 116045

SUMMARY: TOLD VP MUBARAK ABOUT HIRC QUESTIONS RE USE OF
C-130'S IN FERRYING ARMS TO SOMALIA AND IN LANARCA AND
OF DEPT'S REPLY. SAID I HOPED HE WOULD TAKE MY COMMENTS
IN POSITIVE SPIRIT INTENDED, AND THEN NOTED GOE SHOULD
HAVE IN ACCORDANCE LOA OBTAINED OUR ADVANCE APPROVAL TO
USE U.S. PROVIDED C-130'S IN BOTH INSTANCES. MUBARAK WAS
SOMEWHAT DISTURBED AND COMMENTED C-130'S ALSO CARRIED
MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO SOMALIA. HE HOPED THIS WAS NOT
REGARDED AS A VIOLATION. HE VOICED SURPRISE AT HIRC
QUESTIONS, POINTING OUT SADAT HAS RECEIVED DISTINCT
IMPRESSION FROM PRESIDENT'S FREQUENT MEETINGS WITH
CONGRESSMEN THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONGRESSIONAL
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AYMPATHY FOR GOE CONCERNS ABOUT SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN
AFRICA. USG, HE CHARGED, HAS NO AFRICAN POLICY AND
CANNOT IN ANY CASE UNDERSTAND IMMEDIACY WITH WHICH GOE
VIEWS SOVIET THREAT ON ITS AFRICAN DOORSTEP. ASSURED
MUBARAK WE APPRECIATE GOE'S PREOCCUPATION WITH SOVIET
ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA THAT MIGHT CONSTITUTE THREATS TO
EGYPT AND WE WELCOME OUR ONGOING DIALOGUE WITH GOE ON

SUBJECT. I COULD NOT AGREE USG HAS NO AFRICAN POLICY, BUT ISSUE WE WERE DISCUSSING WAS SIMPLE AND REASONABLE ONE THAT GOE OBTAIN OUR CONCURRENCE, IN ACCORDANCE LOA, FOR ANY FUTURE USES OF USG PROVIDED MILITARY EQUIPMENT OUTSIDE OF EGYPT OR FOR PURPOSES NOT STATED IN LOA. MUBARAK SAID HE WOULD INFORM SADAT OF HIRC QUESTIONS AND OF OUR DEMARCHE AND CLAIMED FAILURE TO CONSULT US WAS OVERSIGHT. HE ADDED THAT EGYPTIAN ACTION WAS NOTHING LIKE WHAT HE UNDERSTOOD TO BE UNAUTHORIZED ISRAELI USE OF CLUSTER BOMBS ON SOUTH LEBANESE CIVILIANS. OUR DEMARCHE LIKELY MAKE SADAT AND EGYPTIAN MILITARY LEADERS QUESTION VALUE OF U.S.-PROVIDED MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN CONTEXT GOE'S NEED MEET PERCEIVED SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

1. AS DEPT RIGHTLY SURMISED, REF SUBJECT IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE WITH EGYPTIANS. AFTER CONSIDERING HOW MATTER MIGHT BEST BE PRESENTED, AND POSSIBILITY OF DELAYING DOING SO UNTIL AFTER MY RETURN FROM CONSULTATIONS, I DECIDED THERE WOULD NEVER BE A GOOD TIME TO DO SO AND THAT I MIGHT AS WELL RAISE SUBJECT WITHOUT DELAY. I DID SO DURING MY MEETING WITH VP MUBARAK LAST EVENING. I DID NOT AT THE TIME HAVE REF C.

2. AFTER I HAD GIVEN HIM ACCOUNT OF CURRENT STATE OF U.S./SOMALI RELATIONS (SEPTTEL), SAID I HAD ANOTHER MATTER
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WHICH PARTLY CONCERNED SOMALIA THAT I WISHED TO RAISE WITH HIM. I HOPED THAT HE WOULD UNDERSTAND THE POSITIVE SPIRIT IN WHICH I WAS DOING SO. I THEN TOLD HIM ABOUT QUESTIONS ASKED IN HIRC ABOUT LEGALITY OF EGYPTIAN USE OF C-130'S TO TRANSPORT ARMS TO SOMALIA AND IN LARNACA. I READ HIM TEXT OF DEPT'S REPLY TO HIRC ON USE OF C-130'S TO TRANSFER EQUIPMENT TO SOMALIA (REF B) AND NOTED REPLY WILL PROBABLY APPEAR IN REPORT OF HIRC HEARINGS WHEN THEY ARE PUBLISHED IN NEXT WEEK OR SO. A PARALLEL DEPT REPLY WILL BE SENT ON USE OF C-130 IN LARNACA, ALTHOUGH I DID NOT YET HAVE TEXT. I WAS TELLING HIM THIS NOW SO THAT GOE WILL NOT BE SURPRISED WHEN HIRC REPORT ON HEARINGS IS PUBLISHED AND CONTAINS PERTINENT QUESTIONS AND DEPT'S ANSWERS.

3. I SAID THAT WE APPRECIATE AND SHARE GOE'S CONCERN FOR DEVELOPMENTS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND WELCOME OUR ONGOING DIALOGUE ON THESE DEVELOPMENTS. WE ALSO APPRECIATE GOE'S CANDOR IN TELLING US IN THE PAST OF THE USE OF C-130S TO INCLUDE TRANSFERRING OF EQUIPMENT TO SOMALIA. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE HAVE NOW BEEN CONGRESSIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THAT USE OF C-130'S IN THESE INSTANCES

MAY NOT HAVE BEEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH LOA AGREEMENT REQUIRED BY LAW. I KNEW THAT, GIVEN SYMPATHETIC CONGRESSIONAL REACTION TO PRESIDENT SADAT'S EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, THIS MAY HAVE BEEN VIEWED AS CONGRESSIONAL SANCTION FOR USE OF C-130'S IN THOSE AREAS. FACT IS THAT MILITARY EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY USG SHOULD BE USED ONLY IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH TERMS OF LOA. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THIS REQUIRES RECIPIENT STATE NOT TO USE SUCH USG-PROVIDED MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO ASSIST WHERE USG IS, FOR REASONS OF POLICY OR OTHERWISE,

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PROHIBITED FROM DOING SO. GIVEN OUR STATED OBJECTION TO SOMALI INVASION OF OGADEN, RESTRICTION APPLIED IN THAT INSTANCE. AS HE KNEW FROM MY EARLIER BRIEFING, WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE DEFENSIVE WEAPONS TO SOMALIA ON BASIS CATEGORICAL SOMALI ASSURANCES THEY WILL NOT USE FORCE AGAINST NEIGHBORS AND THAT U.S.-ORIGIN WEAPONS WILL BE USED ONLY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND LEGITIMATE DEFENSE OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED TERRITORIES. IN CASE OF LARNACA OPERATION, I RECOGNIZED PROVOCATION. IN EACH INSTANCE, HOWEVER, LOA TERMS REQUIRED THAT GOE SHOULD HAVE CONSULTED WITH US AND OBTAINED OUR AGREEMENT BEFORE USING C-130'S FOR THIS PURPOSE.

4. IN MAKING THESE POINTS, I EMPHASIZED THAT WE ARE MINDFUL OF PRESIDENT SADAT'S CONCERNS ABOUT SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA AND WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM TO MEET THOSE THREATS. I HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT IN ANY FUTURE

USE OF C-130'S FOR MILITARY PURPOSES OUTSIDE OF EGYPT, GOE
WILL FIRST CONSULT WITH US IN ACCORDANCE PERTINENT LOA
PROVISIONS.

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5. MUBARAK LISTENED CAREFULLY. HE WAS SOMEWHAT DISTURBED,
BUT NOT AS MUCH AS I HAD THOUGHT HE WOULD BE. HE NOTED
THAT C-130'S HAD CARRIED NOT ONLY WEAPONS, BUT ALSO MEDICAL
SUPPLIES TO SOMALIA. HE HOPED THE CARRIAGE OF MEDICAL AND
OTHER HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES WAS NOT PROHIBITED. HE ALSO
EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONS, NOTING
PRESIDENT SADAT HAD BECOME FIRMLY CONVINCED AS
RESULT OF HIS MEETINGS WITH HIRC AND SFRC IN WASHINGTON
AND WITH CONGRESSMEN VISITING EGYPT THAT THERE IS WIDE-
SPREAD CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR EGYPT TO PREVENT FURTHER
SOVIET INCURSIONS INTO AFRICA. USG, MUBARAK POINTEDLY
NOTED, IS DOING LITTLE TO STAND UP TO THE SOVIETS IN AFRICA.
IT SEEMS TO HAVE NO AFRICAN POLICY. TOP USG LEADERSHIP,
HE CHARGED, SEEMS TO BE SPEAKING WITH DISPARATE VOICES
ABOUT AFRICA, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PAST STATEMENTS
ABOUT POSITIVE NATURE OF CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. WARMING
UP TO HIS SUBJECT, MUBARAK REPEATED SADAT'S FAVORITE
PHRASE: TO USG, AFRICA IS REMOTE; TO GOE, AFRICA IS ON ITS
DOORSTEP AND DEVELOPMENTS THERE INEVITABLY IMPACT ON EGYPT.
GOE, MUBARAK EMPHASIZED, MUST TAKE SUCH STEPS AS IT DEEMS
NECESSARY TO ITS OWN SECURITY IN AFRICA, SINCE IT CANNOT
AND DOES NOT WANT TO COUNT ON USG TO INTERVENE IN THAT AREA.
I ASSURED MUBARAK THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTAND GOE'S DEEP PRE-
OCCUPATION WITH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS. WE, IN FACT, SHARE
MANY OF GOE'S CONCERNS, ALTHOUGH OUR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES
MIGHT AT TIMES BE DIFFERENT. I HOPED THEY WERE AT THE
VERY LEAST COMPLEMENTARY. I COULD NOT AGREE WITH HIM
THAT WE HAVE NO AFRICAN POLICY, BUT THIS WAS NOT THE ISSUE
UNDER DISCUSSION. IT WAS SIMPLY A MATTER OF COMPLYING
WITH THE TERMS OF THE LOA IN USE OF THE C-130'S FOR
MILITARY PURPOSES OUTSIDE EGYPT. THIS WAS NOT AN UNREASON-
ABLE REQUEST ON OUR PART. I PERSONALLY BELIEVED THE TWO
INSTANCES WHERE THIS HAD NOT BEEN DONE WERE SIMPLY AN OVER-
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SIGHT, BUT I THOUGHT IT WAS IN BOTH OUR INTERESTS TO AVOID
A RECURRENCE. I THOUGHT GOE COULD BE SURE THAT WE WOULD
LOOK AT SUCH REQUESTS IN AS SYMPATHETIC A LIGHT AS OUR
CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT.

6. MUBARAK HAD BY THEN CALMED DOWN A BIT. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD OUR CONCERNS AND WOULD REPORT THEM TO SADAT. HE ASSURED ME THAT GOE WISHES TO ABIDE BY TERMS OF LOA AND ANY OTHER AGREEMENTS MADE WITH US AND GOE FAILURE CONSULT WAS AN OVERSIGHT. IN ANY CASE, HE HOPED WE WOULD AGREE THAT THE EGYPTIAN ACTION WAS NOTHING LIKE THE ISRAELI VIOLATION IN USING US-PROVIDED CLUSTER BOMBS ON SOUTH LEBANESE CIVILIANS.

7. REF C ARRIVED THIS MORNING. I WILL TAKE APPROPRIATE OCCASION INFORM MUBARAK OF OUR ANSWER ON USE OF C-130 IN LARNACA.

8. COMMENT: MUBARAK, AS INDICATED ABOVE, TOOK MY COMMENTS WELL, BUT WE SHOULD EXPECT GENERAL GOE REACTION TO OUR DEMARCHE TO BE BAD. SADAT AND EGYPTIAN MILITARY, WHEN MUBARAK INFORMS THEM, WILL ASK WHAT USE IS USG-PROVIDED MILITARY EQUIPMENT IF GOE IS TO BE PROHIBITED FROM USING IT IN DEFENSE OF WHAT IT REGARDS AS LEGITIMATE EGYPTIAN SECURITY INTERESTS. PROHIBITION AGAINST USE ON ISRAELI FRONT, WHILE NOT LIKED, IS UNDERSTOOD. BUT POSSIBLE PROHIBITION TO FLY ARMS TO WHAT GOE PERCEIVES AS SOVIET-THREATENED FRIENDLY AFRICAN STATES WILL BE RESENTED. EILTS

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